
Newspaper discourse: Constructing representations of terrorist groups (IRA and ISIS)

Gabriella Holt

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received 19th October 21

Received in revised form 10

January 22

Accepted 15 May 22

Keywords:

Terrorism

Discourse

Media

Qualitative

Newspapers

IRA

ISIS

Daily Mail

The Guardian

ABSTRACT

Terrorism is a phenomenon which is constantly transforming and evolving, resulting in a plethora of research aiming to better understand it. More recently, as media has become globalised, there has been a surge of research into the relationship between terrorism and the media. However, there is a lack of studies comparing media representations of terrorist groups from two separate eras and ‘waves of terrorism’ (Rapoport, 2013). This research aims to fill this gap by examining the discourse used in newspapers to construct representations of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). This research used a qualitative methodology, discourse analysis to look at words and their meaning. Data was collected, for the analysis from both *The Guardian* and the *Daily Mail* newspapers. The articles were analysed using NVIVO. Differences were identified in the discourse used to represent terrorist groups in 2017 from those used in 1975. In 2017, newspapers were more likely to label the perpetrators as ‘sick’ and the attack as a ‘terrorist’ attack, discussing the victim’s injuries using more violent terminology. While 1975 newspapers were more likely to comment on political reasoning and ideology. An increased presence of sensationalisation, in the 2017 newspapers, seems to suggest a possible shift towards sensationalising terrorist events. More research is now needed on a larger scale, to consider if these changes in discourse occur more widely, and to examine what impact they have on public perception.

Introduction

No one would argue against the assertion that the media has a role to play when it comes to informing the public about terrorist events by reporting on them as they occur. However, as media has become globalised, there has been a surge of research into the relationship between terrorism and the media. Questions have arisen concerning how the relationship between these two complex phenomena works, and what effects it has e.g., does the media label Muslims as terrorists? (Powell, 2018).

This research examined the discourse used in newspapers to construct representations of terrorist groups, namely, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). The aim of the research was to examine the similarities and

differences in the media representations of these two terrorist groups. Moreover, to gain an overall understanding of how the media forms these representations and how they have changed over time and through typologies of terrorism. The research focused on the IRA and ISIS because they are two groups which have had major effects on public opinion and have both informed the study of terrorism on multiple levels. Moreover, these two groups come from different eras and ‘waves of terrorism’ (Rapoport, 2013), therefore the comparison across two time periods was possible.

This study chose to examine the media representations of terrorist groups after they independently attacked the UK, because media discourse on terrorist groups exists in more detail after a terrorist attack. This research selected attacks which happened in a similar location, the

city of Manchester. The IRA attacked Manchester in 1975 and ISIS attacked Manchester in 2017.

This article will present the research as follows: firstly, the key literature will be introduced. This will be followed by the details of the qualitative methodology used. The findings will be discussed, alongside which the results will be presented and finally conclusions drawn.

Key literature

There are many varied definitions of the term 'terrorism'. Therefore, because the terrorist incidents examined in this research project occurred in the UK's constitutional environment, the UK's definition of terrorism from the Terrorism Act, 2000 has been chosen as a working definition (See Appendix A for full definition.).

This research was informed by existing literature on media discourse. Specifically, it drew upon Robert Picard's (1991, pp. 40–1) 'four rhetorical traditions' which he argues the media uses when conveying news stories. Picard suggests that these 'traditions' 'affect the meaning received by audiences' Picard (1991, pp. 40–1) asserts that the four traditions used by journalists are:

'Information Tradition' – This tradition is used when the media conveys 'factual information'. These facts are usually given in a 'calm' and 'dispassionate' manner.

'Sensationalist Tradition' – This tradition is used when covering terrorist events because 'the subject is likely to bring an emotional response and contains inherently dramatic and tragic elements that can be sensationally reported'.

'Feature Story Tradition' – This tradition is used to put 'news events and larger issues into a personal perspective'. These feature stories often include 'significant symbolism' and identify those featured as 'heroes or villains, victims or perpetrators'.

'Didactic Tradition' – This tradition is used when covering terrorist events to comment on possible 'explanations' and 'tactics' based on the terrorist climate.

Picard (1991, p. 41) argues further that 'which of these traditions is utilized helps to determine the meaning conveyed by the events'. Consequently, the representations of events, people and social context can be better understood through the study of these

traditions. This research chose to use Picard's 'rhetorical tradition' concept because it provides a clear and concise set of parameters through which to look at media coverage on terrorism. Picard's study was not focused on either media or terrorism, but a combination of the two, making it directly applicable to this research.

Papacharissi and de Fatima Oliveira utilise the concept of News Frames and explain that 'News frames are important in how [...] events are reported, as they reflect a process of recurring selection and emphasis in communicating perceived reality [...]' (Entman, 1993; Gitlin, 1980 as cited in Papacharissi and de Fatima Oliveira, 2008, p. 53). They go on to assert that 'Frames present a central part of how individuals cognitively comprehend and file events, and as such, are an important determinant of how a news story is told, especially in times of conflicting accounts and factual uncertainty' (Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliveira, 2008, p. 53)

Not only does the media frame events and phenomena, but framing also relates to the understanding that individuals take from news stories. Therefore, if the media is representing or framing a terrorist group in a particular way, then the people who consume that media will comprehend that news story within that frame.

Jamieson and Waldman (2003, p. 95) also discuss the idea of the press as a 'shaper of events' by using their concept of 'the Press Effect'. They argue that 'the press both covers events and, in choosing what to report and how to report it, shapes their outcome'. This idea therefore links to the concept of media frames and the media's perceived influence on public opinion through how it frames events.

This research focused on the relationship between terrorism and the media. Eid (2014) introduces and defines a new concept which has been used in subsequent research on the topic (e.g., Parker et al., 2019). Eid's term combines terrorism and the media:

Terrordia is the interactive, co-dependent and inseparable relationship between terrorism and the media, in which acts of terrorism and their media coverage are essentially exchanged to achieve the ultimate aims of both parties – exchanging terrorism's wide-ranging publicity and public attention [...] for media's wide-ranging reach and influence (Eid, 2014, p. 2).

Therefore, this relationship between the media and

terrorism is pivotal to understanding media representations of terrorist groups. If media representations are based on a co-dependant relationship between a terrorist group and the media, then they will be framed and moulded in a way that fulfils the purpose of that relationship.

Methodology

Research on the media's influence, in fields such as: constructing narratives, presenting representations of phenomena, and influencing public opinion, has been accomplished using the full range of methodological approaches. For example, Papacharissi and de Fatima Oliveira (2008) used a mixed methods approach (both quantitative and qualitative) to research the media frames employed in terrorism coverage. Conversely, Ahmed and Matthes (2017, p. 219) used quantitative methods to conduct a meta-analysis to investigate how the media aids the 'construction of Muslim and Islamic identity'. Whereas scholars such as de Buitrago (2013) and Molloy (2015) used qualitative approaches to examine similar research phenomena to this research project in the media and terrorism field.

Having considered examples of the methodological approaches from qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods used in similar research projects, it was felt that, for the purposes of this research, a qualitative approach would be best suited. Through using a qualitative approach, in this research, it would enable a closer look into the analysis of meanings and identities legitimised by the media output.

To examine the discourse of media outputs, some sociologists would argue that you cannot study discourse without placing it in its context (Van Dijk, 2001; Widdowson, 2008). Qualitative methods allow the study of phenomena in context because it focuses on the micro level of interpretations instead of the macro which is better represented in a quantitative format. Therefore, as this research aimed to examine the language used by newspapers to represent terrorist groups it used a discourse analysis method, which is a method which sits within the qualitative branch of sociology.

Discourse analysis

The use of discourse analysis aided in identifying key discourses and their impact on the way that terrorist groups are represented. To conduct the discourse analysis, this research employed a Foucauldian (or post-structural) tradition of discourse analysis. This tradition has been selected

because Stump and Dixit (2013, p. 110) argue that the Foucauldian tradition aims to 'illustrate how self – other identities are produced and legitimated within particular discourses'. This research aimed to accomplish what Stump and Dixit (2013) explain, to find out how identities are produced and legitimised within discourses.

The concept of discourse has multiple definitions, but for the purpose of this research, discourse will be understood as follows: "discourse" draws attention to how things have been "put together", i.e., how meanings become known as commonsensical and how particular identities are produced' (Stump & Dixit, 2013, p. 108).

Newspapers as data

This study aimed to build up a picture of how media discourses are a cornerstone for the social construction of any given group's representation, in this case, terrorist groups. To obtain these media insights this research chose to examine newspaper representations, specifically the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian*. Newspaper analysis of the two attacks in Manchester was chosen for a number of reasons.

Firstly, as newspapers are accessible via the internet they are obtainable immediately and without the need to complete any complex paperwork. Secondly, because one of the groups, the IRA, was active between 1930 and 1980, it was deemed that newspapers would be the most reliable source of media content due to the internet not being publicly available during that time. Further, by using newspapers, this research can balance the political perspectives of the newspaper outputs. For example, the *Daily Mail* is known to have a right-wing political perspective while *The Guardian* is known to be more left wing (YouGov, 2017). Therefore, the representations of terrorist groups, in the two newspapers, would be politically counterbalanced by each other to remove some bias.

Data collection

The ProQuest Historical Newspaper archives (2021) were used to access both the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* newspapers. Research data was selected from two days after the IRA bombing in Manchester on 27 January 1975 and two days after the ISIS Manchester Arena bombing on 22 May 2017 (eight Newspapers in total [four from each Newspaper publication]). Access to newspapers for these dates was through the University of Sheffield's and the University of Huddersfield's electronic resources catalogues.



Figure 2: *Daily Mail* newspaper 2017 ISIS

In both Figure 1 and Figure 2 the outlying words (i.e., small light grey words), cover more detail and specifics of the attack, for example, ‘blood’, ‘hospital’, ‘suicide’, ‘extremist’ – this detail places the discourses mentioned earlier into their semantical context, and this will be further examined later in the discussion. While Figure 2 (*Daily Mail* newspaper) highlights the victims’ demographics, such as the fact that many of the victims were young girls e.g., lexis such as, ‘daughter’, ‘mother’ and ‘girls’. Figure 1 showed less description of the victims’ gender and more focus on the fact that the victims were ‘children’ and ‘families’.

1975 Newspaper discourse, IRA attack

Figure 3 shows how the discourse was formulated through a political dialogue, shown by the large orange and black lexis: ‘Jenkins’, ‘secretary’ (Home secretary at the time). Figure 3 also highlights terms which connote the attack: ‘bomb’, ‘explosion’, and the police response, ‘bomb squad’, ‘police’ and ‘detectives’.



Figure 3: *The Guardian* newspaper 1975 IRA

Figure 4 (*Daily Mail* newspaper) also focuses on the political discussion, but to a lesser extent, as shown by the word ‘Jenkins’ being much smaller in the word cloud. Instead, the discourse appears to be focused on the dialogue about the ‘Troubles’, for example they used lexis such as: ‘hunger strikes’, ‘army’, ‘ceasefire’ and ‘Provisionals’.



Figure 4: *Daily Mail* newspaper 1975 IRA

The discourses presented in Figures 3 and 4 differ dramatically from those presented in Figures 1 and 2 which focus on the label of terrorism. This label is not featured in the discourses presented in Figures 3 and 4. Furthermore, Figures 1 and 2 focus on the victims, whereas victims are not particularly prominent in Figures 3 and 4; the only mention of those affected by the IRA attack in the word clouds is in the terms ‘people’ and ‘public’.

Overall, the word clouds created from the newspaper articles after the ISIS attack in 2017 focus their discourse on different factors than the word clouds created from the newspaper articles after the IRA attack in 1975. It seems to show a shift since 1975 of newspaper discourse from event and political focus, to a public- and victim-centred discourse. There also seems to be a shift from not labelling terrorist groups in 1975 to labelling them in 2017.

Rhetorical traditions

Examining the data in the format of Picard’s (1991) ‘Journalist/Rhetorical Traditions’ (See Tables 1–4), provides an understanding of how the newspapers constructed representations of terrorist groups through using discourses to consequently infer how the public perceive different terrorist groups.

‘Information tradition’

As previously mentioned, Picard's (1991, p. 40) 'Information Tradition' is used by journalists when they convey 'factual information', and facts are usually given in a 'calm' and 'dispassionate' manner. Evidence was found of this tradition in the articles from both the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* after the terrorist attacks as shown by the selected quotes in Table 1.

The information given about the ISIS attack was noticeably short and to the point in the *Daily Mail* articles after the ISIS attack. As Picard (1991, p. 40) suggests, the information has been written in a 'dispassionate' way, implying the information is not clouded by speculation. The selected discourse (presented in Table 1) from the *Daily Mail* articles, is formatted into: name, age, known to security services, location, what action, number of deaths, age of victims and previous relation to the Middle East conflict zone. The format of the selected discourse from *The Guardian* articles for the ISIS attack was similar: age, action, number of deaths and location. However, *The Guardian* goes into more detail about the ISIS attacker and his life, for example: 'Salman and his brother Ismail worshipped at Didsbury Mosque, where their father, who is known as Abu Ismail within the community, is a well-known figure' (Cobain et al., 2017). By referring to the perpetrators' known life history, particularly how they were linked to the Muslim Community, draws a connection between the Muslim Community and the terrorist attack. Consequently, the connection which the media draws between the perpetrator and their Muslim religion supports an argument made by Powell (2018, p. 11) 'terrorists who are Muslim are framed differently than those who are not Muslim, adding to a fear of the "other" that intensifies with each terrorist event.'

Alongside this extra information about the perpetrator of the Manchester bombing, *The Guardian* also lists information from a previous terrorist event: 'In November 2015 members of an Isis network killed more than 150 people in a concert hall, bars and on the streets outside a football international in Paris' (Burke, 2017, para.7). By bringing up the past ISIS attack, the newspaper is showing how prolific and impactful terrorist attacks are. By highlighting commonalities between the current attack and a previous attack (for example, the quote includes information about the number of deaths caused by the Paris attack, as did the 2017 discourse), the newspapers are corroborating the information. Due to the attacks being so similar, the newspapers are drawing a parallel between the attacks and encouraging the

reader to believe the attacks were part of a bigger terrorist movement. The newspapers are attempting to show a continuity of actions by the terrorist group and imply to their readers that terrorism of this kind is not related to just this stand-alone event but to a wider issue which needs to be addressed.

As well as giving information which Picard (1991, p. 40) called 'raw journalism', the newspaper articles published after the 1975 IRA attacks also include multiple mentions of the warnings that were given before each attack, for example: 'Notice of the Manchester explosion being given' (Stuart, 1975) and 'Londonderry was warned of six impending blasts. Two explosions followed' (Lewis et al., 1975). By including information about the warnings that were given, the two newspapers are highlighting that the terrorists' aim was not to cause as many casualties as possible. Highlighting the warnings could lessen the fear and impact of the attack and encourage the reader to sympathise with the terrorist group's aims and desperation for change. It promotes the feeling that they may not be indiscriminate murderers but a political group trying to highlight their cause. Therefore, in comparison to the 2017 newspapers, which do not give any information to dampen the seriousness of the attack, and it could be said are encouraging fear, the 1975 papers seem to be saving face for the IRA attackers.

Table 1: Example newspaper quotes: information tradition

Journalistic Tradition	ISIS (2017) ⁱ		IRA (1975)	
	<i>Daily Mail</i>	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>Daily Mail</i>	<i>The Guardian</i>
Information	<p>‘Salman Abedi, 22, was known to the security services before he walked into Manchester Arena on Monday night and detonated a bomb packed with nails nuts and bolts, killing 22 people including children as young as eight. There were claims that Abedi may have spent time in a Middle East conflict zone, where he may have received terrorist training.’</p>	<p>‘In November 2015 members of an Isis network killed more than 150 people in a concert hall, bars and on the streets outside a football international in Paris.’</p> <p>‘Salman and his brother [name] worshipped at Didsbury Mosque, where their father, who is known as [name] within the community, is a well-known figure.’</p> <p>‘Speaking from Downing Street after an emergency Cobra meeting, May said the investigations of the security services and police have “revealed it is a possibility we cannot ignore that there is a wider group of individuals linked to this incident”.’</p> <p>‘Manchester police say 22-year-old was responsible for suicide attack that killed 22 and injured 59 at Ariana Grande concert Manchester attack.’</p>	<p>‘two men in their early twenties tried to board a Dublin-bound plane as the bombs were still going off 15 miles away. The men apparently could not obtain tickets and ran away when challenged.’</p> <p>‘19-minute delay between notice of the Manchester explosion being given to the Press Association and the evacuation of Lewis’s, the Manchester store where 19 people were injured.’</p> <p>‘Mr Churchill said that when officials of the Northern Ireland office next met the IRA they should say that “the people of Manchester and the British people as a whole will not be intimidated by these baboons and hyenas who seek to maim, mutilate and murder innocent men, women and children in the cities of our country”.’</p>	<p>‘In Manchester, 19 people were hurt by a blast in the basement of the big store. In London, there were five separate bomb attacks. A security guard was hurt when a bomb exploded inside a military tailor in Old Bond street.’</p> <p>‘A man was badly hurt in Kensington high street whilst two other people suffered shock and were taken to hospital. Two people were slightly injured in Victoria street.’</p> <p>‘The centre of Londonderry was warned of six impending blasts. Two explosions followed, one damaging a bank, the other a restaurant.’</p> <p>‘The 140 men in the gaol have all been sentenced for terrorist type offences or membership of the IRA.’</p> <p>‘Police believe that a new IRA cell may have been set up in the city.’</p>

'Sensationalist tradition'

Picard (1991, p. 40-1) suggests that the sensationalist tradition is used by journalists when covering terrorist events because 'the subject is likely to bring an emotional response and contains inherently dramatic and tragic elements that can be sensationally reported'. The following analysis and discussion include selected quotes from Table 2.

Picard (1991, p. 40) further suggests that in the 'sensationalist tradition' the 'material is presented in ways that emphasise alarm, threat, provocation, anger, and fear'. Evidence of these emphasised areas were found in this research project, for example, the *Daily Mail* (Drury, 2017) reported: 'the flood of new jihadists is stretching the UK's security services to breaking point'. This quote uses emotive language (e.g., 'flood', 'stretching' and 'breaking point'), which will influence the readers, raise feelings of alarm and encourage the public to fear the level of threat posed by ISIS. *The Guardian* also uses the sensationalist tradition, for example: 'Can you even begin to feel the horror and concern of the parents and other adults who were at the venue clutching their children as they frantically sought a way out to safety?' (Prest, 2017). In this quotation *The Guardian* appears to be using the already dramatic nature of the terrorist attack to construct a feeling of fear. By including a rhetorical question which asks the reader to '*feel the horror*' which the victims of these tragic events may have felt, the reader could be forced to apply those feelings of horror to themselves, their own lives and their children.

As a society we have constructed a safety net around children since the nineteenth century with the introduction of the Factories Act, 1802, the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act 1904, Children's Act 1908, and some sociologists would argue we live in an age where the child is central to society (Ariès & van den Berg, 1978). In this quote, *The Guardian* newspaper is playing on that societal and biological desire to protect children and is asking its readers (the public) to consider the feelings of the victims of the attack. It could be argued that this article is making every parent feel like a victim of the ISIS attack, because they also have children and therefore *should* be angry.

Conversely, the 1975 publications are much less sensationalistic, but the sensationalisation that does appear is on, what one could argue, a less impactful scale. Overall, the 1975 newspapers do less to incite fear in the reader: instead of saying 'small bodies ripped apart' (Moore, 2017) like in 2017, the 1975 newspaper says, 'She had a very bad gash in her leg'

(Lewis et al., 1975). The language used in the newspapers after the IRA attack is less forceful and refrains from personalising the victims of the attack which would have added to the sensationalisation of the discourse.

Overall, the increased presence of sensationalisation in the 2017 newspapers after the ISIS attack seems to suggest that there has been a shift towards sensationalising terrorist events. Jamieson and Waldman (2003, p. 95) discuss the idea of the press as 'a shaper of events' and they argue that 'the press both covers events and, in choosing what to report and how to report it, shapes their outcome'. Therefore, by choosing to include sensationalised sections of discourse, the newspapers in 2017 are shaping the terrorist event.

Table 2: Example newspaper quotes: sensationalist tradition

Journalistic Tradition	ISIS (2017)		IRA (1975)	
	<i>Daily Mail</i>	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>Daily Mail</i>	<i>The Guardian</i>
Sensationalist	<p>‘youngsters fled in terror after two blasts ripped through Manchester Arena. As blood-covered victims sought safety, armed officers surrounded the 21,000-seat venue.’</p> <p>‘The flood of new jihadists is stretching the UK’s security services to breaking point, with up to 30 officers required to provide 24-hour monitoring of just one suspect.’</p>	<p>‘the screams of the wounded’.</p> <p>‘Small bodies ripped apart’.</p> <p>‘The glass exploded, and people were screaming.’</p> <p>‘Can you even begin to feel the horror and concern of the parents and other adults who were at the venue clutching their children as they frantically sought a way out to safety?’</p> <p>‘The existence of the monstrous individuals who carry out such heinous acts across the globe was prophesied by Muhammad, who said that they would be the worst of creation on Earth.’</p>	<p>‘IRA threats are forcing Irish people in England to plant bombs. The people are men and women who have settled down here and have no connections or loyalties with the IRA. But they are planting bombs because they and their relatives in Ulster are being threatened with violence—including having their knee caps shot off.’</p> <p>‘Bomb after bomb goes off across the city.’</p> <p>‘throwing other passers-by to the ground’.</p>	<p>‘The entire city centre was cordoned off, rush hour homeward bound traffic was reduced to a crawl and an army bomb disposal team carried out an exhaustive search of the six floor building.’</p> <p>‘One woman was lying in a pool of blood. She had a very bad gash in her leg. Another woman has several lacerations in her scalp. She did not seem to know what was happening.’</p>

'Feature story tradition'

Table 3 shows examples of the collected newspaper discourse presented in the format of Picard's (1991) 'Feature Story Tradition' and is evident in the news stories included in this research. The following analysis and discussion include selected quotes from Table 3.

Picard (1991, p. 40) suggests that the feature story tradition is used by journalists when covering terrorist events because it puts 'news events and larger issues into a personal perspective'. These feature stories often include 'significant symbolism' and identify those featured as 'heroes or villains, victims or perpetrators' (Picard, 1991, p. 40). Feature stories were plentiful in the 2017 newspapers after the ISIS attack, and a couple of examples were selected. However, there were not as many 'feature stories' in the 1975 newspapers after the IRA attack. The 'feature stories' selected from 2017 include a large amount of personal identification and cover a continuity of experience throughout the attack, from why they were at the concert to the aftermath that they experienced. For example, 'a pupil at Tarleton Community primary school near Preston, Lancashire, was with her mother [name] and sister [name] to watch Grande, who counts children from primary age through to their late teens as fans. It is understood [name] mother and sister are being treated in hospital' (Laville et al., 2017). By including these 'personal perspectives' (Picard, 1991, p. 40) the 2017 newspapers are setting aside a large amount of discourse for the portrayal of the victims.

On the other hand, although the 1975 newspapers focused on the victims, they included very little 'feature story' discourse about heroes or villains/perpetrators (villains were given discourse that falls under the 'sensationalist' tradition). Moreover, having looked ahead to the next few days' articles in the newspapers, it was found that Picard's (1991, p. 40) 'heroes' concept, was mentioned in more detail, but this was not the case in the immediate aftermath of the ISIS attack. (Unfortunately, this research project does not have the capacity to look in more detail at the days following the attack).

Although the newspaper articles from after the 1975 IRA attack did not include as many 'feature stories', they still formed a small part of the discourse. The 'feature stories' they chose to include did not incorporate the same level of 'personal perspective' (Picard, 1991, p. 40), as was found in the 2017 newspaper articles. Instead, the 'feature

stories' from 1975 included a more detailed description of the attack from witnesses who were nearby at the time, instead of from victims who were affected by the attack. The victims who were affected by the attack were mentioned but not dwelled upon, and this information was included after a description of the damaged buildings and merchandise, for example: 'I ran outside and down to the shop. Glass, watches and jewellery were scattered over the road, and a young woman was lying on the road bleeding badly' (Burden et al., 1975)

Overall, the differences found in the use of the 'feature story' tradition, between the newspaper after the ISIS attack and the newspaper after the IRA attack connote a change in the patterns of discourse to a more personal and arguably more intrusive perspective. A possible reason for this shift could be to invoke an emotional response in the readers, because the victims become real people and not just a figure representing the number of injured or dead.

Table 3: Example newspaper quotes: feature story tradition

Journalistic Tradition	ISIS (2017)		IRA (1975)	
	<i>Daily Mail</i>	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>Daily Mail</i>	<i>The Guardian</i>
Feature Story	<p>‘TWO young friends from a remote Hebridean island were among the casualties following the atrocity. [name], 14, of Barra, was still missing last night but [name], 15, was found badly injured in hospital by her family yesterday afternoon.’</p> <p>‘[name], 33, said: “There were nuts and bolts flying everywhere, and also human flesh. It was like a war zone.”’</p>	<p>‘[name], a pupil at Tarleton Community primary school near Preston, Lancashire, was with her mother [name] and sister [name] to watch Grande, who counts children from primary age through to their late teens as fans. It is understood [name] mother and sister are being treated in hospital. [name], her headteacher, said [name] was “simply a beautiful little girl in every aspect of the word”.’</p> <p>‘[name], 15, from Bury, confirmed that the teenager had died in the attack. [name] had made a public appeal for help in finding her daughter, who was a pupil at Tottington High School, but she posted news of her death on Facebook in the early hours of Wednesday.’</p>	<p>‘[name], said: “The explosion rocked the whole shop and shook plates and cups from the table”.’</p> <p>‘I ran outside and down to the shop. Glass, watches and jewellery were scattered over the road, and a young woman was lying on the road bleeding badly. There were a lot of people about, running around in circles, screaming. I saw two men help the girl on the ground and then the police arrived.’</p>	<p>‘[name] aged 22, of Woodhouse Park Manchester was leaving the department of Lewis’s, where she works when the bomb went off and the ceiling collapsed. She said: “Someone shouted, ‘It’s a bomb’ and we all ran out.”’</p>

'Didactic tradition'

Picard (1991, p. 41) suggests that the 'didactic approach' is used by journalists when covering terrorist events to comment on possible 'explanations' and 'tactics' based on the terrorist climate. Table 4 shows examples of the collected newspaper discourse presented in the format of Picard's (1991) 'Didactic Tradition', for example, an article in the *Daily Mail* uses this tradition in the following quote:

concrete measures must be taken—and quickly—to end our passivity in the face of carnage. In short, the Manchester suicide bombing should mark an irrevocable turning point in the fight against this intolerable threat to our freedoms and way of life (Bradley, 2017).

This quote is working to incite action against what the *Daily Mail* (Bradley, 2017) calls 'passivity in the face of carnage' by using deontic modality for example, 'must'. The word 'must' is an example of deontic modality because it doesn't offer any option to not act, which a word such as 'might' would allow for. This strong modality is further backed up by the word 'quickly' which not only confirms that something 'must' be done, but that it should be done now and without delay. Through this sentence the article does not leave the reader any time or space to consider what to do; it is a very strong message which is that the actions of ISIS are not tolerable, and it is up to the people to react fast and make change through action. This strong start is followed up by another reiteration of the sentiments from the first sentence as the author (Bradley, 2017) argues that the bombing in Manchester 'should mark an irrevocable turning point'. Again, the word 'should' is an example of deontic modality and highlights how strongly the newspaper is trying to get the message across to its readers that something has to happen *now*. Also, the words 'turning point' signals to the reader that we have reached a point where a decision needs to be taken and it is unavoidable because of the nature of the attack.

On the other hand, the newspaper quotes following the IRA attack are less agitating and based more on information about current concerns and the 'Troubles' as a whole, for example: 'The renewed attacks are thought to be an IRA tactic to keep up pressure on all fronts in an attempt to win the most favourable terms for a fresh truce' (Parry, 1975). This quote shows how the newspapers' output in 1975 was focusing on the dialogue about the

ceasefire which was a key debate and concern at the time of the attacks. This particular quote suggests the IRA were trying to increase the pressure on the British Government so they would allow more 'favourable terms' to come to the negotiating table. Using the events of the attack as a springboard into a discussion about the 'Troubles' allows the reader to broaden their thought pattern about the group to include the reasoning for the attack, whether that be political or social, and places the attack within a context of wider events. This contextualisation of the IRA attack is in direct opposition to the newspapers' output after the ISIS attack which constructed the discourse around the attack as a defining event and an escalation of terrorist offending.

Overall, the newspapers from 2017 place the ISIS attack in the context which implies action needs to be taken, whereas the 1975 newspapers contextualise the IRA attack as a political tactic to gain favourable terms. This highlights a possible move away from the politically motivated terrorism of the past to the seemingly intolerable religiously motivated terrorism of the current climate.

Table 4: Example newspaper quotes: didactic tradition

Journalistic Tradition	ISIS (2017)		IRA (1975)	
	<i>Daily Mail</i>	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>Daily Mail</i>	<i>The Guardian</i>
Didactic	<p>‘What happened in Manchester is not something that can be tolerated with a weary shrug that there’s little we can do to combat such hatred. We cannot and must not accept that there are jihadists in Britain who are allowed to walk free until they decide the time is right for them to stab, shoot and bomb.’</p> <p>‘concrete measures must be taken—and quickly—to end our passivity in the face of carnage. In short, the Manchester suicide bombing should mark an irrevocable turning point in the fight against this intolerable threat to our freedoms and way of life’.</p> <p>‘If these misguided ideals can be hiding in plain sight in the midst of decent, ordinary Muslim communities in Britain, then how much more toxic must they be among those who are self-declared enemies of the West and of our way of life?’</p>	<p>‘Now, as forensic experts comb through debris at the Manchester Arena, that earlier plot is a reminder that Islamic militants have long sought targets that have no obvious political, military or even economic significance. Indeed, the most attractive targets to a terrorist are often those that seem -- at least to most of us -- the most mundane.’</p> <p>‘What we do know for sure is that this attack reverses the recent trend for low-tech terrorism because a suicide belt is a more sophisticated way of killing than a stolen truck.’</p> <p>‘In recent years a shift has occurred: attacks on “lifestyle” targets have become increasingly common’.</p> <p>‘it is part of a longer struggle’.</p>	<p>‘the feel in Whitehall was that the aim to get the public so alarmed by violence that it influences Government in negotiations’.</p>	<p>‘although the Protestant extremists’ sectarian murders have introduced a horrible new element into the crisis for a couple of years, they have never been a threat to the Army’.</p> <p>‘The renewed attacks are thought to be an IRA tactic to keep up pressure on all fronts in an attempt to win the most favourable terms for a fresh truce.’</p> <p>‘perhaps the most chilling of all. If one rules out the theory that the people who placed the bomb in the North Belfast Air Training Corps hut, in the certain knowledge that it would kill whoever first opened the door, are pathological killers, does it mean that their aim was to produce an angry reaction from the Protestant community, and particularly from some of the Loyalist paramilitary groups?’</p>

News frames

The following analysis and discussion examine the discursive narratives constructed by the newspapers around the two terrorist groups (IRA and ISIS). By analysing the lexis they use it will also discuss the implications of the language selected in terms of how it constructs representations of the two terrorist groups.

Tables 5 and 6 (see pages 15 and 17) show examples of newspaper discourse presented in the format of five selected news frames:

- A – Description of attack.
- B – How they describe the specific act.
- C – Description of injuries endured.
- D – Their aims and ideology.
- E – Words used to describe the group members and the attacker.

In Table 5, news frame A shows that stark differences can be found in the discourse when the newspapers describe and label the two attacks. The ISIS attack in Manchester 2017 was labelled as a 'horrific' 'terror attack' by both the *Daily Mail* (Cooper, 2017) and *The Guardian* (Khomami, 2017). Whereas both newspapers labelled the 1975 IRA attack in Manchester as a 'bombing campaign'. The word 'campaign' has political connotations and evokes memories of political battles for votes and the fight for key policies to be put in place, which was similar to the nature of the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland. The identification of the IRA attack as a 'campaign', is the opposite to the identification of the ISIS attack as a 'terrorist attack'. A 'campaign' implies that there is a political reason for the violence, but the connotations of the word 'terror' in the context of a terror attack are to cause fear and the use of mindless violence.

News frame C, Table 5, in this research found differences in how the newspapers framed the victims' injuries. Both newspapers were more graphic in how they described the injuries caused by the ISIS attack and more sensationalistic in how they described the injuries. For example, in the *Daily Mail*: 'blood-covered victims' (Pickles et al., 2017) and *The Guardian* 'small bodies ripped apart' (Moore, 2017). Both quotes include emotive semantics, for example, the words 'ripped apart' imply that the damage from the attack was not gentle and not slow, which a word such as 'eased' would imply; the term 'ripped' sounds violent in comparison. Also, the identification of 'small bodies' is extremely harrowing, and in the context of the other lexis like the term 'ripped', only adds to the

horrific imagery.

On the other hand, the discourse after the IRA attack was much calmer, less graphic and less sensationalistic. For example, *The Guardian* said: 'slightly injuring two people passing by' and 'without causing any serious casualties' (Lewis et al., 1975). In comparison to the violent terminology used by the newspapers after the ISIS attack, the semantics implied by the word 'slightly', which is used to describe the injuries, is very delicate and seems to be implying that the effects of the attack were not as horrific. However, *The Guardian* (Lewis et al., 1975) did mention some more graphic injuries, (e.g., 'One woman was lying in a pool of blood. She had a very bad gash in her leg'). Yet, these descriptions were not as graphic or sensationalised as the discourse used by the newspapers in 2017. These examples could support the previous claim of this research that there has been a move to increased sensationalisation, and that increase can also be seen through the descriptions of injuries.

Table 5: News frames and example quotes

News Frames	ISIS (2017)		IRA (1975)	
	<i>Daily Mail</i>	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>Daily Mail</i>	<i>The Guardian</i>
(A) Description of attack	'terrorised by a horrific armed attack'	'horrifying terror attack' 'terror attack'	'bombing campaign'	'BOMBING campaign came back to British cities again yesterday' 'Three bombs exploded in the centre of Londonderry yesterday. All three were preceded by warnings, and there were no casualties'
(B) How they describe the specific act	'act of butchery' 'senseless slaughter' 'particularly wanton and depraved' 'ATROCITIES by Islamist terrorists hell-bent on slaughtering innocents'	'the Manchester attack was sickening, callous, warped, twisted, even cowardly' 'heinous acts' 'evil act' 'escalating brutality'	'ripped' 'blown apart' 'throwing other passers-by to the ground' 'bomb devastated' 'Gieves spokesman said: "We hope to have some bomb-damaged stock on sale tomorrow"'	'a terrific explosion' 'blast' 'Chaos among the detergents' 'Boxes fell off shelves, and chairs "danced"'
(C) Description of injuries endured	'blood-covered victims'	'Small bodies ripped apart'	'a young woman was lying on the road bleeding badly'	'slightly injuring two people passing by' 'without causing any serious casualties' 'One woman was lying in a pool of blood. She had a very bad gash in her leg'

In Table 6, news frame (D), it was found that after the ISIS attack, when the newspapers passed comment on the group's aims and ideology, they used negative terminology, for example, in the *Daily Mail* 'twisted' (Cooper, 2017) and in *The Guardian* 'warped' and 'twisted' (Jenkins, 2017). The same negative terminology can be found in both newspapers after the IRA 1975 attack, when they discuss the group's supposed reasons for the attack, for example, 'twisted logic' (Brown, 1975a). However, the words 'warped' and 'twisted' have connotations of madness and mental instability which suggests that the overall picture the 2017 newspapers are trying to construct about the members of ISIS is that they are mentally unstable. Whereas there is no mention of any mental instability when the newspapers discuss the IRA's aims and ideology. Instead, the 1975 newspapers used the terms 'twisted logic' to describe the group's reasons for committing the offence, instead of commenting on the mental state of the individual actors involved.

However, it was found that in 1975 *The Guardian* and the *Daily Mail* included more discourse about the group's ideology and political reasons. For example, *The Guardian* said: 'Provisional members are genuinely outraged by what they see as a cavalier and callous treatment by the Dublin government.' (Brown, 1975b, para.8). *The Guardian* also suggested that the 'Provisionals' were attacking because they believe 'they have been engaged in a national crusade, a holy war' (Brown, 1975c, para.4). These quotations demonstrate how the 1975 newspapers formed a news frame which encompassed possible ideological aims and reasons for terrorist attacks, and the news framing will in turn have affected how the public perceived the IRA as a terrorist group. The aforementioned quotes seem to suggest that the 'Provisionals' were carrying out attacks because they wanted revenge for the 'callous' treatment, or because of religious reasons, for example, 'holy war' which has clear religious connotations. The 1975 newspapers are suggesting that the IRA had a legitimate political reason for attacking. In comparison, ISIS is presented as having no reason, or their reason is because of their 'mental instability'.

As previously mentioned, Powell (2018, p. 11) explains 'that terrorists who are Muslim are framed differently than those who are not Muslim, adding to a fear of the "other" that intensifies with each terrorist event'. Moreover, West and Lloyd (2017) found that people are more likely to label an act as terrorism when it is a Muslim perpetrator versus non-Muslim. In Table 6, news frame (E), similar

differences were found when this research examined how the media described the group members and the attackers.

The ISIS attacker is described as: 'sick', 'evil', 'Islamist terror suspects', 'terrorist', and the group members are 'Islamist puritans'. However, the IRA are described as 'The Provisional IRA' or even 'freedom fighters'. These quotes show that in 1975 both the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* used more formal titles for the IRA attackers. In comparison, the descriptions given to the attacker and the group after the ISIS attack were more emotive and connote a serious disgust with the group and their actions. However, they notably include the label 'terrorist', which supports the claims from Powell (2018) and West and Lloyd (2017) that terrorist acts involving Muslims are framed differently and that Muslim perpetrators of terrorism are more likely to be labelled terrorists.

Overall, this section has highlighted some common key news frames between the two time periods of newspaper discourse and has found that although the same news frames can be identified, they are used to portray different representations of the terrorist groups.

Table 6: News frames and example quotes

News Frames	ISIS (2017)		IRA (1975)	
	<i>Daily Mail</i>	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>Daily Mail</i>	<i>The Guardian</i>
(D) Their aims and ideology	<p>‘twisted other dimension to the evil of Islamic extremism’ ‘wicked ideology’</p>	<p>‘No ideology can justify this. There is no rational or intellectual spin that can justify this. Enough!’</p> <p>‘Today’s terrorist wants to frighten the enemies of Islam into curbing liberties and oppressing Muslims’</p> <p>‘What warped ideology causes you to forget the wrong in killing innocent youth – children as young as five’</p> <p>‘warped, twisted, even cowardly’</p>	<p>‘who seek to maim, mutilate and murder innocent men, women and children in the cities of our country’</p> <p>‘IRA recruits frightened men’</p> <p>‘IRA threats are forcing Irish people in England to plant bombs’</p> <p>‘because they and their relatives in Ulster are being threatened with violence – including having their kneecaps shot off’</p> <p>‘notice of the Manchester explosion being given to the Press Association’</p> <p>‘a man called a newspaper and said: “There is going to be a bomb in Bond Street in 15 minutes”’</p>	<p>‘twisted logic’</p> <p>‘A wide range of public targets could be selected’</p> <p>‘warned of six impending blasts’</p> <p>‘20-minute warning of the intended explosion’</p> <p>‘But Provisional members are genuinely outraged by what they see as cavalier and callous treatment by the Dublin Government’</p> <p>‘coarsened by violence that it has no conception of the effect of such actions’</p> <p>‘They have been engaged in a national crusade, a holy war’</p> <p>‘Grotesquely illogical strands of the IRA ceasefire thinking’</p>
(E) Words used to describe the group members and the attacker	<p>‘Evil’ ‘Fanatics’ ‘sick’ ‘jihadist menace’ ‘Some terrorist halfwit’ ‘bomber’ ‘freelance “soldier” allied to Islamic State’ ‘Islamist terror suspects’ ‘Islamist puritans’</p>	<p>‘terrorists’ ‘suicide bombers’ ‘Islamic extremists’ ‘mass murderer’ ‘monstrous individuals’ ‘murderous’ ‘extreme’ ‘mad, sick, callous individual’</p>	<p>‘baboons and hyenas’ ‘IRA bomb makers are not the people who go out and plant the bombs’</p>	<p>‘the Provisional IRA’ ‘the Provisionals’ ‘IRA leadership’ ‘a man with an Irish accent’ ‘freedom fighters’ ‘Army’ ‘militant Provisionals’</p>

Conclusion

This research project has examined the discourse used to construct representations of terrorist groups (IRA and ISIS). The analysis of the data collected shows differences in the media language and discourse used in the past to represent the IRA, in comparison to the discourse used to represent ISIS.

For example, quotes used to illustrate the 'Information tradition' and news frame (A), show that the 1975 newspapers rarely labelled the IRA as a terrorist group, and their information was not limited to the raw facts about the attack, but also included factors such as the warnings that the IRA gave of the impending blasts. Also, the discussion on the examples in the 'Didactic tradition' highlighted a possible move from the politically motivated terrorism of the past to the seemingly intolerable religiously motivated terrorism of the current climate.

Similarly, a change in the patterns of 'Feature story' discourse to a more personal and arguably more intrusive perspective was identified. Moreover, the increased presence of sensationalisation in the 2017 newspapers after the ISIS attack, seemed to suggest that there has been a shift towards sensationalising terrorist events, and this was supported by the findings from news frame (C).

Differences were identified in the discourse used to represent terrorist groups in 2017 from those used in 1975. The 2017 newspapers were more likely to label the perpetrators as 'sick' and the attack as a 'terrorist' attack, discussing the victims' injuries using more violent terminology. While the 1975 newspapers were more likely to comment on political reasoning and ideology.

While looking at two terrorist attacks in two newspapers is a small sample (eight newspapers) this represents several hundred articles that were analysed. This work constitutes a pilot study that shows there is more to learn about media representation of terrorist groups. It was never the purpose of this research to gain a complete understanding of 'why' the media has gone through a process of change since 1975, during the time of the 'Troubles' to 2017, where we experience so-called religious terrorism. However, knowing what shifts and changes might have occurred is a solid foundation to work from.

Acknowledgements

This Research Project would not have been possible without the support, guidance, and encouragement from my supervisor Jim McAuley, whose vast knowledge, experience, and guidance has steered me through the entirety of this project.

I would also like to thank The University of Huddersfield and The School of Human and Health Sciences for giving me the opportunity to write and publish this research project and complete my degree with such amazing support and encouragement.

Appendix A. Terrorism Act, 2000 Definition

'In this Act "terrorism" means the use or threat of action where—

- (a) the action falls within subsection (2),
- (b) the use or threat is designed to influence the government

[F1 or an international governmental organisation] or to intimidate the public or a section of the public, and

- (c) the use or threat is made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious

[F2, racial] or ideological cause.

(2) Action falls within this subsection if it—

- (a) involves serious violence against a person,
- (b) involves serious damage to property,
- (c) endangers a person's life, other than that of the person committing the action,
- (d) creates a serious risk to the health or safety of the public or a section of the public, or
- (e) is designed seriously to interfere with or seriously to disrupt an electronic system.

(3) The use or threat of action falling within subsection (2) which involves the use of firearms or explosives is terrorism whether or not subsection (1)(b) is satisfied.

(4) In this section—

- (a) "action" includes action outside the United Kingdom,
- (b) a reference to any person or to property is a reference to any person, or to property, wherever situated,
- (c) a reference to the public includes a reference to the public of a country other than the United Kingdom, and
- (d) "the government" means the government of the United Kingdom, of a Part of the United Kingdom or of a country other than the United Kingdom.

(5) In this Act a reference to action taken for the purposes of terrorism includes a reference to action taken for the benefit of a proscribed organisation.'

Appendix B. List of NVIVO Stop Words

1975 2017 a about above after again against all also
always am an and any are aren't arena ariana as at
be because been before being below between both
but by can can't cannot could couldn't daily did
didn't do does doesn't doing don't down during each
few for from further guardian grande had hadn't
has hasn't have haven't having he he'd he'll he's he'd
he'll her here here's hers herself he's him himself his
how how's how's i i'd i'll i'm i've I'd if I'll I'm in into
is isn't isn't it it's its it's itself 've just last let's like
mail manchester me more most mustn't my myself
night no nor not of off on once only or other ought
our ours ourselves out over own said same say says
shall shan't she she'd she'll she's should shouldn't so
some such than that that's the their theirs them
themselves then there there's these they they'd
they'll they're they've this those through to too
under until up upon us very was wasn't we we'd
we'll we're we've we'd went were we're weren't
what what's when when's where where's which
while who who's whom whose why why's will with
won't would wouldn't year years you you'd you'll
you're you've your yours yourself yourselves

References

- Ahmed, S., & Matthes, J. (2017). Media representation of Muslims and Islam from 2000 to 2015: A meta-analysis. *The International Communication Gazette*, 79(3), 219–44. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048516656305>
- Ariès, P., & van den Berg, J. H. (1978). Centuries of childhood. In J. Beck, C. Jenks, N. Keddie, & M. Young (Eds.), *Towards sociology of education* (pp. 37–47). Transaction Inc.
- Bradley, J. R. (2017, May 24). Why this MUST be a turning point in our war on terror. *Daily Mail*. 19.
- Brown, D. (1975a, January 28). The IRA must decide. *The Guardian*. 12.
- Brown, D. (1975b, January 28). IRA peace moves frozen. *The Guardian*. 1.
- Brown, D. (1975c, January 29). The Provisionals – an army with too many divisions. *The Guardian*. 11.
- Burden, P., Cliff, P., & Gordon, G. (1975, January 28). Bomb after bomb goes off across the city – It's a Blitz on London. *Daily Mail*. 1.
- Burke, J. (2017, May 24). Terrorists see reason in madness of targeting public events. *The Guardian*. 5.
- Cobain, I., Perraudin, F., Morris, S., & Parveen, N. (2017a, May 23). Salman Ramadan Abedi named by police as Manchester Arena attacker. *The Guardian*. 1.
- Cooper, M. (2017, May 24). The human spirit dictates that we live without fear. And we must help our children to do the same. *Daily Mail*. 16.
- de Buitrago, S. R. (2013). Media discourse on jihadist terrorism in Europe. *Contemporary Voices: St Andrews Journal of International Relations*, 4(2).
- Drury, I. (2017). 3,000 jihadis on the streets of Britain: Spies and counter-terror police are struggling to monitor a flood of radicalised men and women in their teens. *Daily Mail*.

Eid, M. (Ed.). (2014). *Exchanging terrorism oxygen for media airwaves: The age of terroredia: The age of terroredia*. IGI Global.

Jackson, K., & Bazeley, P. (2019). *Qualitative data analysis with NVivo*. Sage.

Jamieson, K. H., & Waldman, P. (2003). *The press effect: Politicians, journalists, and the stories that shape the political world*. Oxford University Press.

Jenkins, S. (2017, May 24). Enough of Theresa May's outrage. We need a tough response to terror. *The Guardian*. 31.

Jørgensen, M. W., & Phillips, L. J. (2002). *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. Sage.

Khomami, N. (2017, May 24). Ariana Grande suspends European concert tour after Manchester bombing. *The Guardian*. 3.

Laville, S., Topping, A., & Carrell, S. (2017, May 24). Second Manchester bomb victim named as eight-year-old Saffie Rose Roussos. *The Guardian*. 2.

Lewis, J., Hickman, B., & Mackie, L. (1975c, January 28). Bombers blast back at 2 English cities. *The Guardian*. 1.

Molloy, D. (2015). Framing the IRA: Beyond agenda setting and framing towards a model accounting for audience influence. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 8(3), 478–90.

Moore, S. (2017, May 24). Sorry Morrissey, but love is our best weapon against terror. *The Guardian*. 5.

Papacharissi, Z., & de Fatima Oliveira, M. (2008). News frames terrorism: A comparative analysis of frames employed in terrorism coverage in US and UK newspapers. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 13(1), 52–74.

Parker, D., Pearce, J. M., Lindekilde, L., & Rogers, M. B. (2019). Press coverage of lone-actor terrorism in the UK and Denmark: Shaping the reactions of the public, affected communities and copycat attackers. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 12(1), 110–131. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2018.1494>

- Parry, G. (1975, January 29). Car bomb fear in bus strike. *The Guardian*. 1.
- Picard, R. G. (1991). The journalist's role in coverage of terrorist events. In A. O. Alali, & K. K. Eke (Eds.), *Media coverage of terrorism* (pp. 40–8). SAGE Publications.
- Pickles, K., Leatham, X., Tozer, J., & Burrows, T. (2017, May 23). CARNAGE AT POP CONCERT. *Daily Mail*. 1.
- Powell, K. A. (2018). Framing Islam/creating fear: An analysis of US media coverage of terrorism from 2011–2016. *Religions*, 9(9), 257.
- Prest, M. (2017, May 23). Children should not be caught up in terror. *The Guardian*. 28.
- ProQuest. (2021). *International Newsstream*. ProQuest. <http://www.proquest.com/>
- Rapoport, D.C. (2013). The four waves of modern terror: International dimensions and consequences. In J. M. Hanhimäki, & B. Blumenau (Eds.), *An International history of terrorism* (pp. 293–321). Routledge.
- <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203093467-27>
- Stuart, M. (1975a, January 29). Gieves, immaculate as ever, the morning after the bomb. *Daily Mail*. 14
- Stump, J. L., & Dixit, P. (2013). *Critical terrorism studies: An introduction to research methods*. Routledge.
- <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203073575>
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Discourse, ideology, and context. *Folia Linguistica*, 35(1–2), 1–2.11. <https://doi.org/10.1515/flin.2001.35.1-2.11>
- West, K., & Lloyd, J. (2017). The role of labeling and bias in the portrayals of acts of 'terrorism': Media representations of Muslims vs. non-Muslims. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 37(2), 211–22.
- Widdowson, H. G. (2008). *Text, context, pretext: Critical issues in discourse analysis*. John

Wiley & Sons.

YouGov. (2017). *How left or right-wing are the UK's newspapers?*. yougov.co.uk.

<https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/articles-reports/2017/03/07/how-left-or-right-wing-are-uks-newspapers>

ⁱ For the purposes of this article the data extracts provided in the tables are taken from the sample of articles reviewed under that specific year. As the analysis is based on 'textual' data and not authorship citation details have been omitted so the reader can focus on the exemplars as opposed to authorship

comparison.